

Peace News

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Nehru's good wishes for H-protest men

PEACE NEWS REPORTER

MR. Nehru expressed his good wishes for their trip when he received the two British conscientious objectors, David Graham and Ian Dixon, in New Delhi last week.

The two British conscientious objectors, who intend to go to Japan to join in protests against the British H-test, were wished good luck by Mr. Nehru last week before they started for Tokio.

Mr. Nehru said, reports the Daily Herald: "India's position is that we are against further nuclear testing by Britain or any other Power."

The two have been given permission to enter Japan "on conditions that they do not risk their lives by entering the Christmas Island danger zone."

Harold Steele is planning to go to India as a first step to getting out to the Pacific H-test area.

Thousands of leaflets have now been distributed announcing the big "No H-test" meeting in Friends House, London, next Tuesday.

Plans for the women's protest march through London on May 12 are being circulated to all the leading women's organisations in Britain.

In Britain the H-test was the subject of resolutions at a number of Easter con-

The H-tests DR. SCHWEITZER'S APPEAL TO THE WORLD

Full text
inside

DR. ALBERT SCHWEITZER has called for a halt to nuclear tests. His statement was broadcast on Tuesday evening over Norwegian State Radio in Norwegian and (on short wave) in English, French, German and Russian.

The respected medical doctor, philosopher and humanitarian warned that radiation from nuclear tests means that "Not our own health only is threatened by internal radiation, but also that of our descendants."

He declared, "We are forced to regard every increase in the existing danger through further creation of radioactive elements by atom bomb explosions as a catastrophe for the human race, a catastrophe that must be prevented under every circumstance."

The message was originally sent to Mr. Gunnar Jahn, President of the Nobel Peace Committee. Dr. Schweitzer received the Nobel Peace Prize in 1952.

Warners of the danger

A recording of his broadcast, the full text of which appears in this issue of Peace News, was sent to London to the BBC.

Peace News was told on Tuesday evening that the recording had been received but there were no plans whatever for it to be broadcast over the BBC.

Dr. Schweitzer said near the beginning of his plea, "I raise my voice, together with those of others, as warners of the danger."

The body of the statement consisted of Dr. Schweitzer, speaking as a medical doctor, lucidly relating the medical dangers to

humanity from radiation. He warned that "our descendants are threatened by the greatest and most terrible danger."

We must "pull ourselves together before it is too late," he warned. "We must muster the insight, the seriousness and the courage to leave this folly, and face reality."

World public opinion

He pointed to Russia, America and Britain, "telling one another again and again that they want nothing better than to reach an agreement to end the testing of atomic weapons. At the same time, however, they declare that they cannot stop the tests as long as there is no such agreement."

The reason why such an agreement has not been reached, declared Dr. Schweitzer, is that "in their own countries there is no public opinion asking for it," nor in other countries (except Japan).

He urged that public opinion in all nations concerned should inspire and accept an agreement to halt nuclear tests. This agreement, Dr. Schweitzer said, should have guarantees preventing any one-sided tactical advantages to any signatory.

When an informed world public opinion has been created "then the statesmen may reach an agreement to stop the experiments."

A full story was sent out by Associated Press from Oslo on April 16, but was not published in Britain.

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Schweitzer's broadcast

The Kenya Government has announced that it has abolished the death penalty for the only three remaining capital offences under Emergency legislation: the unlawful possession of a firearm; consorting with an illegally armed person; and administering, or being present at and consenting to, the administration of a Mau Mau oath. Offenders convicted for these offences will be liable to imprisonment for life.

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In Britain the H-test was the subject of resolutions at a number of Easter conferences.

The Co-operative Party divided on the issue of whether Britain should "go it alone" and immediately announce that she will neither test, make, nor use nuclear weapons.

The resolution for this course of action was narrowly defeated: 3,733,000 for and 3,777,002 against.

The British Communist Party Congress refused by a large majority to ask Russia to stop testing H-bombs. Earlier the Congress had refused to recommend that conscription be abolished.

By a big majority the Independent Labour Party urged complete disarmament for Britain, making the country independent and able to set an example to the rest of the world.

2,000 signature petition

Meetings and petitions continue to be organised all over the country.

In Manchester Miss Aileen Hallworth and Miss Helena Sherlock have secured upwards of two thousand signatures to a petition "from Christians" to the Archbishop of Canterbury asking him to denounce H-bomb and kindred weapon tests and to demand that Britain, as a Christian country, shall carry out no further tests.

Petition forms are being sent out from 9 Alan Rd., Withington, Manchester, 20.

A poster parade will take place in Manchester on May 4, organised by the United Peace Fellowship and starting from the Friends Meeting House, Mount St., at 2.30 p.m. This will advertise a public meeting to be held on Monday, May 6.

After hearing the well-known Welsh novelist and broadcaster, the Rev. Islwyn Ffowc Elis, a public meeting at Penygroes (Caerns) sent an appeal to the British Government "to listen to Japan's cry and refrain from poisoning her fish and en-

● ON BACK PAGE

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JOLIOT-CURIE'S BROADCAST

AN appeal for the ending of tests was broadcast over the French radio on Tuesday evening by Prof. Joliot-Curie.

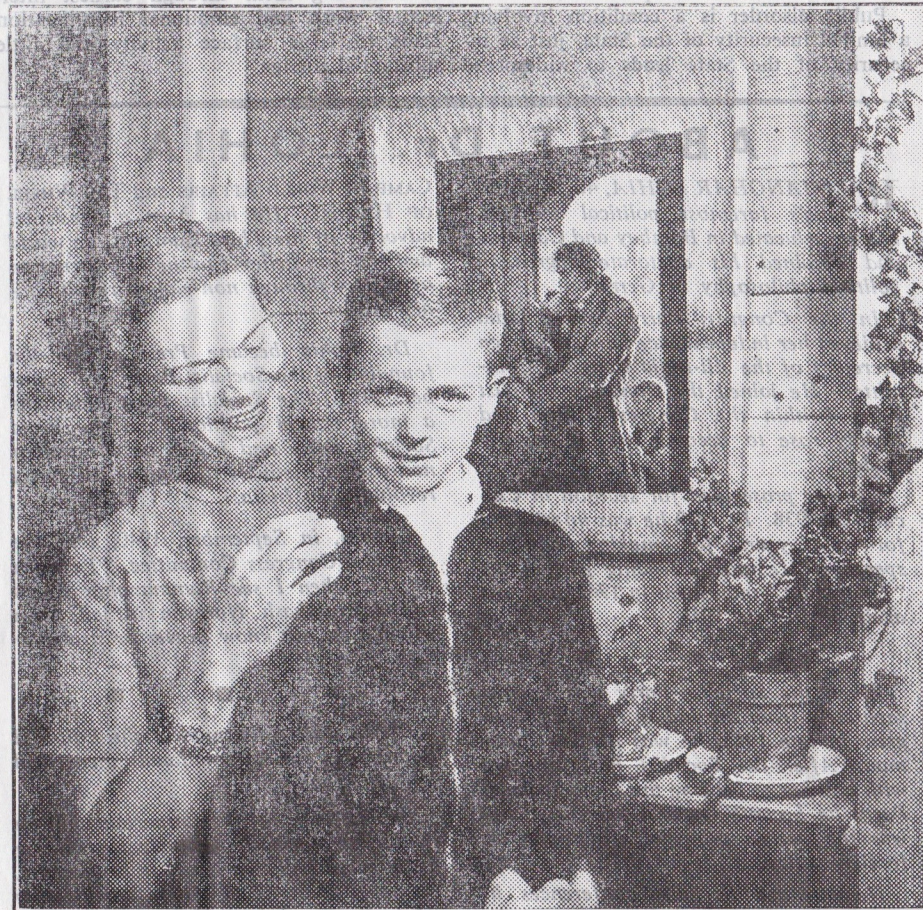
After emphasising many of the points about radiation dangers also made by Dr. Schweitzer, he continued:

"An attempt is made to oppose the opinions of scientific experts and to create confusion as to the reality of the dangers. A few days ago eighteen German scientists, including Professor Otto Hahn, who discovered the fission of uranium, warned the Government of the German Federal Republic. The world Press gave this warning wide publicity, but at once some radios announced that biologists in the United States had found by experimenting on animals a product which, if introduced into the human organism, would protect it against the damaging effects of radiation. This news, so rapidly announced, certainly without due control, is one of the manifestations of psychological war destined probably to minimise the effect of the German scientists' appeal by calming the disquiet of public opinion." Professor Joliot-Curie's wife, and her mother, died of the effects of life-long research into radio-active bodies.

Commenting on the Professor's open association with the Communist Party, the Manchester Guardian said: "It is the more striking that he should make this appeal on the French wireless, which is under close political supervision by the French Government."

The London Co-operative Party has protested against the decision to make Britain a base for American guided missiles. It regards this decision as a deliberate blow at the work of the UN disarmament sub-committee now meeting in London. It has also condemned the decision to press forward with Britain's H-tests.

... but this will radiate goodwill



At Pestalozzi Children's Village at Trogen, Switzerland, the housemother of "Stepping Stones" (one of the two British houses in the village), is with Brian, a new arrival. The picture in the background shows Heinrich Pestalozzi, an 18th century educationist, after whom the village was named. See page 5 for a report on the proposed children's village in Britain.

NON-VIOLENCE AND REVOLUTION

By Dr. Rammanohar Lohia

HITHERTO, in efforts to bring about major social changes, the world has known the sole alternatives of parliamentary and violent insurrectionary means.

A reliance on only parliamentary means has often left people without any means of direct control over social decisions when Parliament was not responsive to the public will, and parliamentary means have sometimes proved incapable of bringing about genuinely fundamental changes in society when required.

The reliance upon the means of violent insurrection has, however, also been proved inadequate. Even apart from considerations of the morality of violence and its chances of success, the kind of society produced by a violent insurrection does not recommend such means.

Now, however, a new dimension has been added by the addition of individual and massive civil resistance as another way of bringing about major social changes.

The civil resister knows the verdict of history that tyrants live only where there are cowards, that the peoples of the world have always alternated between a ninety-nine years' existence as tamed horses or cows and one year's existence as tigers. After long and placid submission to authority, they have suddenly erupted to overthrow one tyranny and build up another.

Change hearts

While attempts may be made to change the tyrant's heart and the heart of those in positions of power, the real point is to change the people's heart and to change it into ordinary human behaviour instead of that of the cow or the tiger.

Only the continual practice of civil disobedience can achieve such a condition. Thus can the people and the Government learn to respect each other's limited authority.

Civil resistance is of two types, individual and collective. Individual civil resistance knows no law except that sense of justice and self respect of the civil resister. He does not calculate the risks or the conse-

quences who are willing to pit themselves non-violently against expressions of tyranny.

Collective civil resistance may take place on (1) a local level, (2) county or provincial level, (3) regional, or (4) national level.

The extent of collective resistance would depend very much on the strength of the organisation practising it and the magnitude of the government's oppression over the people. As collective resistance involves not alone the fate of an individual but of many, it must be resorted to only after collective decisions and sanctions have been taken at all appropriate levels.

Civil Resistance

Like individual courage, collective courage is faced with the problem of tenacity and endurance. Collective courage which makes maximum demands for only a few days, is somewhat easier than collective courage which makes lower demands such as that of jail-going over a longer period.

Civil resistance and constitutional agitation fall into two entirely different categories.

A constitutional agitation may be hot-headed and fiercely strong but as long as it does not step out to transgress the law, it does not acquire the character of civil resistance.

Government and people should, therefore, recognise the distinction between constitutional agitation on the one hand and uncivil and civil disturbances on the other.

One serious misunderstanding in connection with civil disturbance is that held by some educated persons who believe that to practise civil resistance habitually would be to live in a state of permanent lawlessness. But lawlessness must be strictly and judiciously

public disorder. Not even the widest practice of civil resistance, however, can affect public order of State security.

The threat may, of course, be there. The danger may exist of the people erupting into acts of violence or armed struggle.

But until that happens and as long as an organisation is professedly bound to methods of peace, lawlessness arising out of the most massive civil resistance must always be sharply distinguished from uncivil lawlessness.

Civil resistance should never be dealt with in terms beyond arrest and imprisonment.

If continuing streams of prisoners cannot be accommodated, the Government should build more prisons. Both individual and collective civil resisters can, of course, be working for an unjust cause, but, as long as they confine themselves to methods of peace, they harm no one but themselves. Society is never harmed by the practice of civil resistance.

But it stands to gain immeasurably if the civil resistance practised is for a just cause. By taking the side of the civil resisters in just causes and by courting imprisonment, the people are awakened to a sense of virtue and the need for change.

Clear judgment

Persons seeking to change society must be able to judge the situation clearly. They must not urge people to action beyond the realities of the situation, nor refrain from calling for militant action when it is needed.

Provoking people to action beyond control may lead later to a short or long period of lethargy by the people or disillusionment



Dr. Lohia (left) is seen with Mrs. P. V. G. Raju, Member of the Legislative Assembly; Andra (centre) and Mahadev Singh, trade union leader (right) during a parade at the founding of the Indian Socialist Party in December, 1955.

Every demonstration, march, or struggle must be continually preceded and followed by enrollment of members by the non-violent revolutionary group, the formation of committees, operation of study and work centres and various efforts to arouse public opinion. The habit of flurrying with one aspect of the work while neglecting other important aspects, is a mistake.

Revolution

Similarly, failure to provoke to militant action when it is required by the circumstances, results in stagnation and is often a step into reaction.

All those desirous of maintaining methods of non-violence must learn to be equally loyal to revolution, for there has been a tendency in recent times to subordinate revolution to non-violence.

Where such subordination of revolution to non-violence takes place, conservative maintenance of the existing order is an inevitable result, just as chaos in the beginning and tyranny afterwards are inevitable results if non-violence is subordinated to revolution.

While a revolution may regrettably erupt into violence in its last stages, particularly when a decaying Government seeks to dispense with democratic forms, participants in a revolution must definitely resolve to proceed on the continuing basis of peaceful

While attempts may be made to change the tyrant's heart and the heart of those in positions of power, the real point is to change the people's heart and to change it into ordinary human behaviour instead of that of the cow or the tiger.

Only the continual practice of civil disobedience can achieve such a condition. Thus can the people and the Government learn to respect each other's limited authority.

Civil resistance is of two types, individual and collective. Individual civil resistance knows no law except that sense of justice and self respect of the civil resister. He does not calculate the risks or the consequences. Despite tempting calculations of the benefits of the future, the civil resister will not forsake the performance of his duty in the present.

In the case of collective resistance, people's temper, party, opponent's difficulties, and such like factors may be taken into account.

Civil resistance can become massive and widespread if the group of such individuals

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Government and people should, therefore, recognise the distinction between constitutional agitation on the one hand and uncivil and civil disturbances on the other.

One serious misunderstanding in connection with civil disturbance is that held by some educated persons who believe that to practise civil resistance habitually would be to live in a state of permanent lawlessness. But lawlessness must be strictly and juridically examined and opinions should not be allowed to mar its interpretation.

Public disorder is a condition involving a limited insecurity of the State, just as insecurity of the State leads to widespread

civil resistance practised is for a just cause. By taking the side of the civil resisters in just causes and by courting imprisonment, the people are awakened to a sense of virtue and the need for change.

Clear judgment

Persons seeking to change society must be able to judge the situation clearly. They must not urge people to action beyond the realities of the situation, nor refrain from calling for militant action when it is needed.

Provoking people to action beyond control may lead later to a short or long period of lethargy by the people or disillusionment and disbelief. Exciting the masses without consolidating them through earnest intellectual work and emotional identification leads to large surface activity and little substantial change.

ABOUT Dr. LOHIA

RAMMANOHAR LOHIA, 48, is one of India's foremost political thinkers. He was educated in Bombay and Calcutta, and obtained his doctorate degree in political philosophy in Germany.

In the Congress Party before India achieved her independence he was Foreign Secretary of the All-India Congress Committee. He joined the Congress Socialist Party (within the Congress Party) and rapidly rose to become one of the top leaders.

He was prosecuted for sedition in Calcutta in 1938. In 1940 he was imprisoned for two years for making anti-war speeches. He took a leading part in the "Quit India" movement in 1942, and was again arrested in 1944.

When the Socialist Party was formed separately from the Indian National Congress in late 1945, he was named Chairman. After the Socialist Party merged with another to become the Praja Socialist Party he became General Secretary, and was the party's principal spokesman on foreign policy.

He attended Socialist conferences in Europe for the PSP and was one of the principal elements responsible for the formation of the Asian Socialist Conference. He toured the United States for the World Government Foundation.

His publications include THE THIRD

CAMP IN WORLD AFFAIRS and THE WHEEL OF HISTORY. He has been a consistent advocate of the Third Camp in the world and is a firm believer in the reconstruction of society through non-violent revolutionary means.

Dr. Lohia became President at the founding of the Socialist Party in December, 1955. The Socialist Party maintains a more radical position than the Praja Socialist Party and insists on the use of non-violent methods to achieve the social revolution in India.

Gandhi, in September, 1940, told the All-India Congress Committee, "I cannot sit still when I see Rammanohar Lohia and Jayaprakash Narayan in jail, than whom I do not know braver or straighter men."

Dr. Lohia is Chairman of the Editorial Board of the international theoretical journal Mankind.

He believes that it is important that an intelligent approach be made to building a better society; so often it is the case, he says, that "Evil works intelligently while the good foolishly wastes its time and energy."

This article is an important contribution to the clarification of thought concerning the value and role of peaceful civil resistance in bringing about social changes.

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While a revolution may regrettably erupt into violence in its last stages, particularly when a decaying Government seeks to dispense with democratic forms, participants in a revolution must definitely resolve to organise on the continuing base of peaceful methods.

Mankind will ever hurtle from the hands of one irresponsibility into another if it continues to seek and organise its revolutions through violence.

THE LORD MAYOR OF LEEDS

will give a Civic Welcome to the

Annual General Meeting

of the

PEACE PLEDGE UNION

which will take place at the

Eldon Hall, Leeds

on April 27 to 28, 1957

April 27 2 p.m.-5 p.m. and 6.30 p.m.-8.30 p.m. Amendment to Constitution and Reports.

April 28 10.30 a.m.-12.30 p.m. Policy Motions—Any Questions? 2 p.m.-4 p.m. Professor Kathleen Lonsdale on "Problems for Pacifists." Emergency Resolutions. Address by National Chairman.

Groups should appoint their Delegate as soon as possible and return the Green Form with 2s. (8s. if Sunday lunch ticket required) to the General Secretary. Hospitality provided if necessary. Pooled Fares will operate. Individual Members are also welcome and should send 2s. for ticket, Agenda, etc. (8s. if Sunday lunch ticket required). All applications to General Secretary, Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.

PPU RELIGION COMMISSION

Pacifist Universalist Service

3.30 p.m. Sunday, April 28, 1957

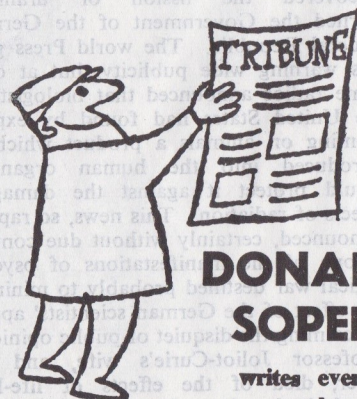
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Discourse by Rev. L. J. Bliss

"Christian Responsibility"



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The full text of Dr. Schweitzer's H-test appeal A CATASTROPHE THAT MUST BE PREVENTED

SINCE March 1, 1954, hydrogen bombs have been tested, by the Americans at the Pacific island of Bikini in the Marshall group and by the Russians in Siberia. We know that testing of atomic weapons is something quite different from testing of non-atomic ones.

When earlier a new type of giant gun had been tried on the test field the matter ended with the detonation.

After the explosion of a hydrogen bomb that is not the case.

Something remained in the air, namely, an uncalculable number of radioactive particles emitting radioactive rays. This was also the case with the uranium bombs which were dropped on Nagasaki and Hiroshima and those with which subsequent tests were made.

However, because these bombs had smaller size and less effect compared with the hydrogen bombs, one hardly paid any attention to this fact.

Since radioactive rays of sufficient amount and strength have harmful effects on the human body, one started discussing if the radiation resulting from the explosions that had already taken place represented a danger which would increase with new explosions.

Radiation danger

In the course of the three and a half years that have passed since then representatives of the physical and medical sciences have been studying the problem.

Observations on the existence, distribution, the origin and the nature of radiation have been made. The processes through which the human body is harmfully affected have been analysed.

The material collected, although far from complete, allows us to draw the conclusion that radiation resulting from the

In 1898 Pierre Curie and his wife discovered in the mineral pitch-blende, an uranium ore, the strongly radio-active element Radium.

The joy caused by the fact that such rays were at the disposal of humanity was at first unmixed.

It appeared that they influence the relatively rapidly growing and relatively rapidly decaying cells of malignant tumors and sarkomas. If exposed to these rays repeatedly for a longer period, they will be destroyed.

Madam Curie

After a time one found, however, that the destruction of cancer cells did not always mean the cure of cancer and that also the normal cells of the body are seriously damaged if exposed to radioactive rays for a longer time.

"When public opinion has been created . . . then the statesmen may reach an agreement to stop the experiments."

When Mme. Curie, after having handled uranium ore for four years, finally held the first gramme of radium in her hand there appeared tears in the skin which no treatment could cure. With the years she grew steadily worse from a disease caused by radioactive rays having damaged her bone marrow and through that her blood. In 1934 death put an end to her suffering.

For many years one was not aware of the risk involved in X-rays for those con-

that possible. This instrument is called the Geiger counter and consists of a metal tube containing rarified air.

In it are two metal electrodes between which is a high potential. Radioactive rays from the outside affect the tube and releases a discharge between the two electrodes. The stronger the radiation the quicker the discharges follow one another. A small device connected to the tube makes the discharge audible.

The Geiger counter performs a veritable drum roll when the discharges are strong.

There are two kinds of atom bombs: uranium bombs and hydrogen bombs. The effect of an uranium bomb is due to a process liberating energy by fission of uranium. In the hydrogen bomb the liberation of energy is the result of the transformation of hydrogen into helium.

It is interesting to note that this process is the same as that which is taking place

in the centre of the sun, supplying it with the self-renewing energy which it is emitting in the form of light and heat.

In principle the effect of both bombs is the same. But according to various estimates the effect of one of the latest hydrogen bombs is 200 times stronger than the one which was dropped on Hiroshima.

To these two bombs has recently been added the cobalt bomb, a kind of super atom bomb. It is a hydrogen bomb sur-

in 1883 of the island of Krakatoa, in the Sunda group, was noticeable for two years afterwards to such an extent that the sunsets were given extraordinary splendour by it.

What we can state with certainty, however, is that the radioactive clouds will constantly be carried by the winds around the globe and that some of the dust, by its own weight, or by being brought down by rain, snow, mist and dew, little by little, will fall down on the hard surface of the earth, into the rivers and into the oceans.

Of what nature are these radioactive elements, particles of which were carried up in the air by the explosion of atom bombs and which are now falling down again?

They are strange variants of the usual non-radioactive elements. They have the same chemical properties, but a different atom weight. Their names are always accompanied by their atom weights. The same element can occur in several radioactive variants. Besides Iodine 131, which lives for 16 days only, we have Iodine 129, which lives for 200 million years.

In air and rain

Dangerous elements of this kind are: Phosphorus 32, Calcium 45, Iodine 131, Iron 55, Bismuth 210, Plutonium 239, Cerium 144, Strontium 89, Caesium 137. If the hydrogen bomb is covered by cobalt, Cobalt 60 must be added to the list.

Particularly dangerous are the elements combining long life with a relatively strong efficient radiation. Among them Strontium 90 takes the first place. It is present in very large amounts in the radioactive dust. Cobalt 60 must also be mentioned as particularly dangerous.

The radioactivity in the air, increased through these elements, will not harm us from the outside, not being strong enough to penetrate the skin. It is another matter

danger which would increase with explosions.

Radiation danger

In the course of the three and a half years that have passed since then representatives of the physical and medical sciences have been studying the problem.

Observations on the existence, distribution, the origin and the nature of radiation have been made. The processes through which the human body is harmfully affected have been analysed.

The material collected, although far from complete, allows us to draw the conclusion that radiation resulting from the explosions which have already taken place represents a danger to the human race, a danger not to be underrated, and that further explosions of atomic bombs will increase this danger to an alarming extent.

This conclusion has repeatedly been expressed especially during the last few months. It has not, however, strange to say, influenced public opinion to the extent that one might have expected. Individuals and peoples have not been excited to give to this danger the attention which it unfortunately deserves. It must be demonstrated and made clear to them.

I raise my voice, together with those of others who have lately felt it their duty to act, in speaking and writing, as warners of the danger.

My age and the sympathy that I have gained for myself through advocating the idea of reverence for life, permit me to hope that my appeal may contribute to the preparing of the way for the insight so urgently needed.

Radioactivity ?

My thanks go to the radio station in Oslo, the city of the Nobel Peace Prize, for making it possible for that which I feel I have to say, to reach far off places.

What is radioactivity ?

Radioactivity consists in the occurrence of rays differing from those of light in being invisible and in being able to pass not only through glass but also through thin metal discs and through layers of cell tissue in the human and animal bodies. Rays of this kind were first discovered in 1895 by the physicist Wilhelm Roentgen, of Munich, and were named after him.

In 1896 the French physicist Henry Becquerel demonstrated that rays of this kind occur in nature. They are emitted from Uranium, an element known since 1786.

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For many years one was not aware of the risk involved in X-rays for those constantly exposed to them and through their operating X-ray apparatus thousands of doctors and nurses have incurred incurable diseases leading to a slow death.

Radioactive rays are material things. Through them the radioactive element constantly and forcefully emits tiny particles of itself.

3 kinds of rays

There are three kinds of radioactive rays. They are named after the three first letters of the Greek alphabet, alpha, beta, gamma. The gamma rays are the hardest ones and have the strongest effect.

The reason why elements emit radioactive rays are that they are in a continuous state of decaying. Their radioactivity is the energy liberated little by little.

There are other elements besides uranium and radium which are radioactive, although very little so. To the radiation from the elements in the earth is added the radiation from space, to the extent that it reaches us.

Fortunately the air mass 400 kilometres high surrounding our earth protects us against this radiation. Only a very small fraction of it reaches us. If it had hit the earth with full intensity all life would be annihilated.

We are, then, constantly being exposed to radioactive radiation coming from the earth and from space. It is so weak, however, that it does not hurt us. Stronger sources of radiation, as for instance X-ray cameras, and radium, have, as we know, harmful effects if one is exposed to them for some time.

The radioactive rays are, as I said, invisible. How can we tell that they are there and how strong they are ?

Thanks to the German physicist Hans Geiger, who died in 1945 as a victim to X-rays, we have an instrument which makes

the experiments."

in the centre of the sun, supplying it with the self-renewing energy which it is emitting in the form of light and heat.

In principle the effect of both bombs is the same. But according to various estimates the effect of one of the latest hydrogen bombs is 200 times stronger than the one which was dropped on Hiroshima.

To these two bombs has recently been added the cobalt bomb, a kind of super atom bomb. It is a hydrogen bomb surrounded by a layer of cobalt. The effect of this bomb is estimated to be many times stronger than that of hydrogen bombs having been made till now.

The explosion of an atom bomb creates an inconceivably large number of exceedingly small particles of radioactive elements which decay like uranium or radium. Some of these particles decay very quickly, others more slowly, and some of them extraordinary slowly.

The strongest of these elements cease to exist only 10 seconds after the detonation of the bomb. But in this short time they may have killed a great number of people in a circumference of several miles.

Clouds of dust

What remains are the less powerful elements. In our time it is with these we have to deal. It is of the danger arising from the radioactive rays emitted by these elements that we must be aware.

Of these elements some exist for hours, some for weeks, or months, or years or millions of years, undergoing continuous decay.

They float in the higher strata of air as clouds of radio-active dust. The heavy particles fall down first. The lighter ones will stay in the air for a longer time or come down with the rain and the snow.

Carried by winds

How long it will take before everything carried up in the air by the explosions which have taken place till now has disappeared, no one can say with any certainty. According to some estimates, this will be the case not earlier than thirty or forty years from now.

When I was a boy I witnessed how the dust slung up in the air from the explosion

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The radioactivity in the air, increased through these elements, will not harm us from the outside, not being strong enough to penetrate the skin. It is another matter with respiration, through which radioactive elements can enter our bodies.

But the danger which has to be stressed above all the others is the one which arises from our drinking radioactive water and our eating radioactive food as a consequence of the increased radioactivity in the air.

Following the explosions of Bikini and Siberia, rain falling over Japan has, from time to time, been so radioactive that the water from it cannot be drunk. And not only there : Reports of radioactive rainfall are coming from all parts of the world where analyses have recently been made.

In soil and plants

In several places the water has proved to be so radioactive that it was unfit for drinking.

Well-water becomes radioactive to any considerable extent only after longer periods of heavy rainfall.

Wherever radioactive rainwater is found the soil is also radioactive—and in a higher degree. The soil is made radioactive not

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LEAVE THIS FOLLY-FACE REALITY—Dr. Schweitzer

only by the downpour, but also from radioactive dust falling on it.

And with the soil the vegetation will also have become radioactive. The radioactive elements deposited in the soil pass into the plants where they are stored.

This is of importance, for as a result of this process it may be the case that we are threatened by a considerable amount of radioactive elements.

The radioactive elements in grass, when eaten by animals whose meat is used for food, will be absorbed and stored in our bodies.

In the case of cows the absorption is effected through our drinking their milk. In that way even small children, to whom they are especially dangerous, run the risk of absorbing radioactive elements.

When we eat cheese and fruits the radioactive elements stored in them are transferred to us.

What this storing of radioactive material implies, is clearly demonstrated by the observations made when, at one occasion, the radioactivity of the river Columbia, in North America, was analysed.

Evading problem

The radioactivity was caused by the atomic plants at Hanford, which produce atomic energy for industrial purposes, and which empty their waste water into the river.

The radioactivity of the river water was insignificant. But the radioactivity of the river plancton was 2,000 times higher, that of the ducks eating the plancton 40,000 times higher, that of the fish 15,000 times higher.

In young swallows fed on insects caught by their parents in the river the radioactivity was 500,000 times higher and in the egg yolks of water birds more than 1,000,000 times higher.

From official and unofficial sources we have been assured, time and time again, that the increase in radioactivity of the air does not exceed the amount which the human body can tolerate without any harmful effects.

number of the cells of an organ may degenerate or die as a result of radiation.

What are the diseases caused by internal radiation? The same diseases that are known to be caused by external radiation.

They are mainly serious blood diseases. The cells of the red bone marrow, where the red and the white blood corpuscles are formed, are very sensitive to radioactive rays. It is these corpuscles, found in great numbers in the blood, which makes it possible for it to play such an important part.

If the cells in the bone marrow are damaged by radiation they will produce too few, or abnormal, degenerating blood corpuscles. Both cases lead to blood diseases and, most often, to death. These were the diseases that killed the victims of X-rays and radium rays.

Our descendants

It was one of these diseases that attacked the Japanese fishermen who were surprised in their vessel by radioactive ashes falling down 240 miles from Bikini after the explosion of an hydrogen bomb. Being strong and relatively mildly affected, they were all, with one exception, saved through continuous blood transfusions.

In the cases cited the radiation came from outside. It is unfortunately very probable that internal radiation affecting the bone marrow and lasting for years will have the same effect, particularly since the radiation goes from the bone tissue to the bone marrow. As I have said, the radioactive elements are by preference stored in the bone tissue.

Not our own health only is threatened by internal radiation, but also that of our descendants. The fact is that the cells of the reproductive organs are particularly vulnerable to radiation, which in this case attacks the nucleus to such an extent that it can be seen in the microscope.

To the profound damage of these cells corresponds a profound damage to our descendants.

As the matter stands we cannot at present cite cases of serious damage done by internal radiation. To the extent that such radiation exists it is not sufficiently strong and has not lasted long enough to have caused the damage in question. We can only conclude from the harmful effects known to be caused by external radiation to those we must expect in the future from internal radiation.

If the effect of the latter is not as strong as that of the former, it may become so, through working little by little and without interruption and thus obtain the same effect as the stronger rays coming from the outside. The final result will be the same in both cases.

Their effects are added up.

We must also remember that internal radiation has not, in contrast to that coming from the outside, to penetrate layers of skin, tissues and muscles to hit the organs. It works at close range and without any weakening of its force.

When we realise under what conditions the internal radiation is working, we cease to underrate it.

Further explosions

Even if it is true that, when speaking of the dangers of internal radiation we can point to no actual case, only express our fear, that fear is so solidly founded on facts that it attains the weight of reality in determining our attitude.

We are forced to regard every increase in the existing danger through further creation of radioactive elements by atom bomb explosions as a catastrophe for the human race, a catastrophe that must be prevented under every circumstance.

There can be no question of doing anything else, if only for the reason that we cannot take the responsibility for the consequences it might have for our descendants.

They are threatened by the greatest and most terrible danger.

That radioactive elements created by us are found in nature, is an astounding event

Public opinion in all nations concerned must inspire and accept the agreement.

When public opinion has been created in the countries concerned and among all nations, an opinion informed of the dangers involved in going on with the tests and led by the reason which this information imposes, then the statesmen may reach an agreement to stop the experiments.

Sunrays of hope

A public opinion of this kind stands in no need of plebiscites or of forming of committees to express itself. It works through just being there.

The end of further experiments with atom bombs would be like the early sunrays of hope for which suffering humanity is longing.

H-test explosion can cause cancer in 1,000 people

PEACE NEWS REPORTER

ONE H-test explosion such as that which occurred at Bikini in 1954 will carry enough fission product into the atmosphere to cause bone cancer in a thousand people, according to a report issued last week by a committee appointed by the Council of the Atomic Scientists' Association.

The report emphasises, however, that the estimate of the number of people who will be affected has been made on the basis of data which are not yet as precise as might be hoped, and on the basis of certain assumptions which cannot at present be confirmed or denied.

Stressing the importance of the committee's

THE H-BOMB TESTS

What they say Nuclear tests and the freedom of the seas

HENRY USBORNE MP

Bertrand Russell is right. The proposed explosion at Christmas Island is the quintessence of ridiculous nationalism. Probably we in Britain cannot now save ourselves from our folly. But the Japanese might. If a large number of fishing boats were to sail into this area and refuse to leave it, satyagraha might prevent what reason is powerless to avert.—*Manchester Guardian*, March 23, 1957.

THE NEWS CHRONICLE

... best of all, if we could show the courage, Britain should state that she is prepared to stop her tests—independently of the endless conditions each country imposes. In this she could give the lead the world is waiting for. March 27, 1957.

WAYLAND YOUNG

It is possible that when we British drop [our H-bombs] at Christmas Island we sentence an Afghan, an Eskimo, a Patagonian to death by cancer. By what right? And if by no right, are we not grievously eroding and contradicting the very system which, in testing bombs, we are preparing to defend? A few people believe that this country should unilaterally abandon nuclear tests. But all sane people in the whole world must believe that all countries should simultaneously abandon them. Hitherto it has only been the Americans and Russians who were testing bombs. Now it is us. In a few years it will be France, then perhaps half a dozen other countries. Is it not our special duty as the first second-rate Power on the scene to take an initiative in stopping the whole thing: an initiative as risky, as uncomfortable, even as terrifying as all worthwhile initiatives always are?—*Manchester Guardian*, March 25, 1957.

ANEURAN BEVAN

What the world requires, it seems to me,

MR. SILVERMAN (Lab., Nelson and Colne) asked the Prime Minister in the House of Commons on April 16 what steps he would take to restrain peaceful shipping sailing the high seas from entering specific areas during the forthcoming hydrogen-bomb tests.

MR. MACMILLAN replied that public warning had been given that a definite area was to be considered dangerous to shipping from March 1 to August 1, 1957. "Early warning will be given if it should become necessary to extend the latter date. Aircraft of the task force conducting the operation will search within the area for any vessel which might inadvertently have entered it and be in danger." If any such vessel was sighted warning leaflets would be dropped.

MR. SILVERMAN said, according to the *Manchester Guardian*, that the point of his

"SERIOUS PROTEST" FROM INDONESIA

THE Indonesian Ambassador, Dr. Sunario, presented a note of "serious protest" concerning the proposed British H-bomb test to Mr. Selwyn Lloyd on April 5.

The note points out that the 80,000,000 Indonesian people living in the Pacific area endorse the use of nuclear energy for truly peaceful purposes but are strongly opposed to the proposed nuclear bomb tests at Christmas Island.

Far from being a deterrent to a third world war, the tests will "merely promote the chance of such a disaster" and "are... dangerous to the well-being of mankind."

The atomic bomb dropped on Hiroshima and the Bikini test, the radio-active fallout from which injured several Japanese fishermen, are recalled in the note which draws attention to a resolution of the Parliament of the Republic of Indonesia on April 21, 1956:

"To prevent every atom bomb test... or other nuclear weapons (tests) which are

question was what the Government's attitude would be in the event of vessels exercising their right to navigate freely on the high seas and insisting on entering the warned-off area. "Do you propose to use force to prevent them?"

MR. MACMILLAN. "That is really a hypothetical question, but I hope nobody will be foolish enough to ignore this advice."

MR. SILVERMAN asked what steps the Prime Minister had taken to obtain an advisory opinion from the International Court of Justice at The Hague on the propriety under international law of rendering large areas of the high seas dangerous to peaceful shipping.

MR. MACMILLAN. "None, sir." It was not open to individual states to seek advisory opinions from the International Court, he added.

MR. SILVERMAN asked with what foreign countries the Government had concluded agreements by which ships of those countries would be restrained from sailing upon any part of the high seas during the hydrogen bomb tests.

MR. MACMILLAN. None, sir. The temporary use of the areas outside territorial waters for gunnery or bombing practice has, as such, never been considered a violation of the principle of freedom of navigation on the high seas, and hence no special agreement was called for.

Detecting the explosions

MR. F. BESWICK (Lab., Uxbridge) asked the Prime Minister what was the distance

of observers from the explosion used as a premise for the Government's view that it was now possible to detonate a hydrogen bomb without detection.

MR. MACMILLAN said he could not add to what he said in the debate two weeks ago, that if a deliberate attempt were made to hold a test explosion in such a way as to avoid detection, it would certainly be successful. "As regards the techniques which make this concealment possible, I cannot, in the public interest add to what I have said."

MR. BESWICK. Do you not agree it is palpably inaccurate to say that some explosions cannot be detected, since one can hear any noise provided one is near enough to it? Are you aware that qualified people have worked out a network whereby 400 observation posts over the globe could detect any detonation, even the old-fashioned type I saw in 1946? In the light of this fact will you drop this alibi as an excuse for not starting to get agreement on the bomb tests?

MR. MACMILLAN. I will do my best to answer any technical questions put to me, but I must ask the House to forgive me if I do not do so in answer to supplementary questions.

MR. R. R. STOKES (Lab., Ipswich) asked "Why does the Prime Minister make so much mystery about this? Is not the truth this, that while the world would be made aware that an explosion had taken place, no one would know what the explosion was? Any man who has studied this knows that."

MR. MACMILLAN. That supplementary makes me still more cautious. (Laughter)

Three Japanese mothers appeal to the mothers of Britain

TO STOP THE TESTS

MY elder daughter, eleven years old, who was interested in the astronomical observation happened to know that the explosion on the sun is nothing but that of hydrogen and then she became very fearful about the hydrogen explosion.

Should such an arbitrary decision of the Government be allowed by the people of the advanced country in the world?

I am a Japanese common woman and live very commonly, but I, as well as many other Japanese women, have experienced a lot of very serious influences of the dreadful atomic bomb since the war and

sane people in the whole world must believe that all countries should simultaneously abandon them. Hitherto it has only been the Americans and Russians who were testing bombs. Now it is us. In a few years it will be France, then perhaps half a dozen other countries. Is it not our special duty as the first second-rate Power on the scene to take an initiative in stopping the whole thing: an initiative as risky, as uncomfortable, even as terrifying as all worthwhile initiatives always are?

—Manchester Guardian, March 25, 1957.

ANEURAN BEVAN

What the world requires, it seems to me, is for the statesmen to agree upon some central directives and then to call into existence a body of persons of great eminence from all walks of life—in science, in philosophy, in the arts and say:

Now here is our submission to you—here is our directive, here are the principles which we consider should be followed. You go to work on these and see if you can provide a convention for mankind which will satisfy these directives.

Such a step would take mankind to a new point of departure instead of drifting towards the disaster of an atomic war.

C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

In a message to Peace News the former Governor-General of India, C. R. Rajagopalachari writes:

"The British Government's orders (closing the H-test area in the Pacific) cannot bind people all over the world.

"It is arguable that the action contemplated by the British Government is a violation of the rights of even British subjects on the ground of detriment to health and injury to future generations. British jurists may examine the law as it stands in respect of actions against the Government.

"There is a case beyond doubt for other Governments to start proceedings in the World Court and ask for stay of the contemplated programme. There is also a case for members of the Commonwealth and for India in particular, to consider what action should be taken in respect of these grave activities of the British Government undertaken without consultation and approval of other members of the Commonwealth."

area entered into the world for truly peaceful purposes but are strongly opposed to the proposed nuclear bomb tests at Christmas Island.

Far from being a deterrent to a third world war, the tests will "merely promote the chance of such a disaster" and "are... dangerous to the well-being of mankind."

The atomic bomb dropped on Hiroshima and the Bikini test, the radio-active fallout from which injured several Japanese fishermen, are recalled in the note which draws attention to a resolution of the Parliament of the Republic of Indonesia on April 21, 1956:

"To prevent every atom bomb test... or other nuclear weapons (tests) which are not intended for peaceful purposes," especially when these are carried out near the continents of Asia and Africa.

This decision was to be submitted to the United Nations.

Bandung Conference

The final communique of the Bandung Conference, also recalled in the Indonesian note, stated:

"The Conference considered the disarmament and the prohibition of the production, experimentation and use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons of war imperative to save mankind and civilisation from the fear and prospect of wholesale destruction.

"Whereas the forthcoming tests on Christmas Island are not intended for peaceful purposes, since the information obtained from them is to be used for military purposes in coming wars, thus for destructive purposes, the Indonesian Government shares fully the sentiments of the Government of Japan and of other Afro-Asian Governments as expressed during the Bandung Conference," adds the note, which concludes with the request "that Her Majesty's Government take due note of the attitude of the Government of the Republic of Indonesia in this question by discontinuing the tests."

MANCHESTER GUARDIAN

(Scientific Correspondent)

Writing about Mr. Macmillan's "undetectable" bombs: "I have not been able to find a single scientist who believes that it would be possible to test hydrogen bombs of an explosive power comparable with that of the Bikini bomb in such a way that the explosion could not be detected a thousand miles away.

Mr. F. BESWICK (Lab., Uxbridge) asked the Prime Minister what was the distance

Three Japanese mothers appeal to the mothers of Britain

TO STOP THE TESTS

MY elder daughter, eleven years old, who was interested in the astronomical observation happened to know that the explosion on the sun is nothing but that of hydrogen and then she became very fearful about the hydrogen explosion.

As she was born after the Second World War ended she only knew the atomic bomb of Hiroshima and Nagasaki just as a story.

But she heard about Mr. Kuboyama, Japanese fishermen, who died from the cause of the death ashes of the American bomb tests in the Pacific Ocean, by her own ears and saw him in the movies through her own eyes.

So she has become afraid of the rain, which might contain dreadful death ashes and also has feared to eat tuna meat which might have been caught in the area of the Atomic bomb tests...

Through the radio news, she also knew that your country was going to dare to make the hydrogen bomb tests in the South Pacific Ocean and objected to the tests very seriously.

She named her doll "Eliza" and also her dog "Eliza" as she respected Queen Elizabeth very much since her coronation and she was much pleased to hear that Princess Ann, of your country, reached the age to enter a primary school.

But it seems very difficult for her to distinguish the country in which Queen Elizabeth and Princess Ann live from the country which is going to dare the Hydrogen bomb tests in the Christmas Island area.

In Britain, which we Japanese women have respected as the country of gentleness and of the high-levelled culture, why shouldn't the strong opposition by respective people be voiced against the dreadful H-bomb tests?

According to the recent news, the English Government, which lost the reliance of the people by the Suez problem before, is now going to get it back again by testing the might of the new British hydrogen bomb.

Any man who...
Mr. MACMILLAN. That supplementary makes me still more cautious. (Laughter)

Should such an arbitrary decision of the Government be allowed by the people of the advanced country in the world?

I am a Japanese common woman and live very commonly, but I, as well as many other Japanese women, have experienced a lot of very serious influences of the dreadful atomic bomb since the war and know very well how dreadful the atomic bomb is.

Please understand the reason why I should raise my pen and cry out loudly to stop the tests immediately.

Hoping that you mothers in Britain will co-operate with us and join the move against the British hydrogen bomb tests in the Christmas Island area in the Pacific Ocean, we are

Very truly yours,

MIYOKO HAGIMURA.

I HEAR that your country will attempt an experiment in an explosion of the H-bomb in Christmas Island.

I searched the map for the Island and cannot help sighing heavily. Hundreds of thousands of people were killed because of the "death ashes" which we Japanese were first to be covered with. We cannot forget the dreadful scenes too horrible to look at.

There are many who go on dying of atomic diseases, though more than ten years have passed since the war came to an end. The air around us has become awfully dirty through the atomic experiments conducted by the United States and Soviet Union, we hear.

Moreover, another experiment of atomic explosion is taking place over Christmas Island, which will cause such damage as the whole earth will be covered with "death ashes."

You say it is not so dangerous as to produce the "death ashes" as the explosion is to be carried out far over the Island. If so you may well perform experiments in the vicinity of your own country.

★ ON BACK PAGE

World Court and H-tests

WHEN Mr. Masatoshi Matsushita, the special envoy of the Japanese Prime Minister, went to The Hague on April 11 he announced that he was to see the President of the International Court of Justice, Mr. Green H. Hackworth, to discuss with him the possibility of submitting the question of the carrying out of H-bomb tests in the Pacific for the decision of the International Court.

There has been no report as to the outcome of this consultation but on April 17 Mr. Silverman asked the Prime Minister what steps had been taken to obtain an advisory opinion on the subject from the Court. Mr. Macmillan replied that no steps had been taken and added that "it was not open to individual states to seek advisory opinions from the International Court."

This statement is literally true, but it represents nevertheless a considerable economy in the display of the truth. It would be open to any Government—Japan, for instance, or even China—to apply for the agreement of the British Government in the submission of this question for adjudication by the World Court. The presumption here is that the British Government would refuse, and in this it would doubtless have the backing of the United States Government, although the rest of the world would be against it.

Apart from this procedure, however, under Article 96 of UN Charter either the General Assembly or the Security Council may ask the International Court for an advisory opinion. We hope that this will be done when the opportunity next arises. Japan is probably unlikely to take such a step because of its susceptibility to pressure from the British and US Governments. We hope however that either Indonesia or India will take the necessary steps to get the matter raised.

Now or never

ON the subject of the intention to carry out the British test, Mr. Macmillan made a cryptic and unexplained comment, on April 17, upon the significance of which we have to conjecture.

The Prime Minister said that he did not believe that if the tests were postponed they would ever be held.



in order to ensure that Cyprus shall take its place with Britain as an island adequately equipped for the delivery of violent death by the most up-to-date methods.

Sir John is a soldier turned statesman, however, and it is perhaps not to be expected that he shall perceive that violence directed

to ends of which he approves is just as much violence as violence directed to ends of which he disapproves; and that if he is capable of this type of unilateral fallacy the members of EOKA may also be capable of it.

It comes more strangely from someone

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CLOUD-CUCKOO LAND

TO read or listen to the debates on what is called "defence" policy in these days is to enter a fantasy world in which men seek to convey the impression of knowledge and expertise denied to mere laymen. They can only do so by resolutely ignoring the dominant realities of what they are discussing.

Now and again they are invaded by the appalling sense of the evil unreality in the character of their discussion. They then seek to remove this nagging disquietude by a momentary descent into some meaningless sentiment, or they resort to some incongruously inapt religious cry from the heart. After this they return to discussion in the framework of military nonsense to which they have limited their outlook.

Such was Mr. George Brown's "Father forgive them for they know not what they do!" in the course of his speech in the debate on the Defence White Paper.

Both Parties are now engaged in trying to make some sense of the grotesquely unreal conception of "graduated deterrents." Both sides are really aware that policies based on this idea can have no relationship to the facts of today. The result is that it is often difficult to perceive upon which side of the House a speaker is making his contribution.

There is no essential difference between the Parties. In the endeavours of their spokesmen to make the most of any disagreement on minor details it frequently seemed in last week's debate as if the Labour Party—which had created a public impression that it was clamouring for substantial reductions in defence expenditure—was now condemning the Government for making any reduction at all.

THIS uncertainty flows from the agreement between the two Parties, not only that peace now depends on the "great deterrent," but that Britain itself must be equipped with this deterring horror.

The range of disagreement therefore turns on the question whether reliance on the "great deterrent" must be absolute, or whether, and in what way, by equip-

trained to think in the disciplines of theology. Commenting on the release of Archbishop Makarios—and we must make it clear that he welcomed this—the Bishop of Chichester remarked parenthetically, "I personally deplore the association of leaders of the Orthodox Church, or of any other church anywhere in the world, with methods of violence."

Even the enlightened mind of Dr. Bell does not apparently recognise the appointment of army chaplains, the arrangement of military church parades, and the decking out of churches with regimental standards as having anything to do with "methods of violence."

Korean army

A RECENT report of the US Senate Committee on Foreign Aid shows that the Republic of Korea has an army of over 700,000 men. It is the "second largest army in the free world," that is second only to that of the US itself.

Thus, this small nation with a population of 21½ millions, with no "commitments" except to stand in the forefront of the US Government's conflict with the Chinese Government, has an army which is nearly double that of the scaled-down army now proposed for Britain. Korea also has a small navy and a small airforce.

More than half the Korean budget is spent on war preparation, and, of course, the greater part of the money shown in the budget comes from US "Foreign Aid." On this aspect the Report makes a comment that is worthy of contemplation. It says that the maintenance of an American army in Korea "would cost between 6 and 10 times as much."

Tailpiece

"There is sometimes a tendency to think that missiles will solve all our problems."

—Field-Marshal Lord Montgomery.

NOTEBOOK

Pen pals 4000 miles away

OSWELL BLAKESTON, whose book, *ISLE OF ST. HELENA*, is to be published by Sidgwick and Jackson on Monday, asks me to appeal for pen pals for the islanders who live on Britain's oldest colony 4,000 miles from London.

"Most of them live in considerable poverty and isolation and they would

step because of its susceptibility to pressure from the British and US Governments. We hope however that either Indonesia or India will take the necessary steps to get the matter raised.

Now or never

ON the subject of the intention to carry out the British test, Mr. Macmillan made a cryptic and unexplained comment, on April 17, upon the significance of which we have to conjecture.

The Prime Minister said that he did not believe that if the tests were postponed they would ever be held.

Mr. Gaitskell then intervened to make it clear that the Labour Party was asking for postponement only with a view to the consideration of proposals for all-round abandonment.

"There is no reason why, if the replies are unsatisfactory, that we should not proceed to carry out the tests."

Mr. Macmillan then commented: "My view is that if they were abandoned they would never be held. I am bound to tell the House that is a responsibility which I am not prepared to take."

This is, we think, only susceptible to two interpretations: it either means that there is the imminent possibility of agreement and that the British Government does not propose that it shall be reached until Britain is equipped with the H-bomb; or it means that the atmospheric danger that is being created is increasing so rapidly that it will shortly be such that it will be impossible any longer to conceal the criminality of the tests.

Methods of violence

WHAT we nowadays call "double-think" when it is applied to the operations of Communist propaganda has driven down deep into the mental processes of politicians throughout the world. The indignant condemnation of "methods of violence" is a singular example of this process.

We have more than once pointed to the incongruity of the righteous horror that Sir John Harding so frequently expresses at the adoption of "methods of violence" while he is sending out his armed troops for round-up operations and sending men to death by execution as part of a policy directed to the expenditure of £30,000,000

unreal conception of "graduated deterrents." Both sides are really aware that policies based on this idea can have no relationship to the facts of today. The result is that it is often difficult to perceive upon which side of the House a speaker is making his contribution.

There is no essential difference between the Parties. In the endeavours of their spokesmen to make the most of any disagreement on minor details it frequently seemed in last week's debate as if the Labour Party—which had created a public impression that it was clamouring for substantial reductions in defence expenditure—was now condemning the Government for making any reduction at all.

THIS uncertainty flows from the agreement between the two Parties, not only that peace now depends on the "great deterrent," but that Britain itself must be equipped with this deterring horror.

The range of disagreement therefore turns on the question whether reliance on the "great deterrent" must be absolute, or whether, and in what way, by equipping ourselves with less deadly destructive instruments we can safeguard ourselves against the desperate course of having to use it.

The average man and woman would do well to read these debates carefully and give a little thought—with the advantage of minds that are not befogged by the need to display any expertise—to the realities behind the things that are being discussed through the medium of a jargon that has been carefully emptied of its human content.

Something less than the worst that may be hoped for, according to Mr. Sandys, is that "limited and localised acts of aggression, for example, by some satellite Communist State could no doubt be resisted with conventional arms or at worst with tactical atomic weapons, the use of which could be confined to the battle area."

The unlovely reality that is being described here is, of course, that the greater Powers may continue to prefer to fight through their foreign puppets and confine destruction on the Hiroshima scale to these rather than enter upon their own common destruction with H-bombs.

The use of tactical atomic weapons could be "confined to the battle area" thinks Mr. Sandys; the battle area, of course, including such towns as it embraced. Apart from such towns—those within the area of the respective satellite puppets—we should only atomise multitudes of men dressed in uniform and avoid atomising those dressed in civilian clothes.

RUNNING through this debate, whichever side was speaking, ran concurrent evidences that all were aware that this conception can only be treated seriously if one blinds oneself to the realities.

It is, for instance, not possible that there can be in Europe a "contained" and limited war in which the two conflicting blocs are engaged as in the case of Korea. And it is evident that the Powers whose defeated armies were being destroyed, either by conventional weapons or by tactical atomic weapons, would then resort to the "great deterrent."

One has only to ask oneself what would be the attitude of the British and US Governments were the Communist forces sweeping across Europe; and there is no reason to assume that the Russian attitude would be any different were the position reversed.

These discussions are maintained on the assumption that it is only the existence of the H-bomb today that prevents either side from advancing and destroying the other.

We believe this to be a tragic misreading of the fear that is over the world, and that the renunciation by either side of the possibility of using this thing would produce such a gratified sense of relief from fear throughout the whole of humanity that it could be the prelude to a new and hopeful era for mankind.

"There is sometimes a tendency to think that missiles will solve all our problems."

—Field-Marshal Lord Montgomery.

NOTEBOOK

Pen pals 4000 miles away

OSWELL BLAKESTON, whose book, ISLE OF ST. HELENA, is to be published by Sidgwick and Jackson on Monday, asks me to appeal for pen pals for the islanders who live on Britain's oldest colony 4,000 miles from London.

"Most of them live in considerable poverty and isolation, and they would welcome friendship and news." They are the most charming people, he adds, and, of course, they all speak English!

Those who want to correspond with an islander should write in the first instance to the editor of The Wirebird, Jamestown, Isle of St. Helena, South Atlantic Ocean, asking for a name and address.

Incidentally, the War Resisters' International will always be glad of the stamps!

Non-violence Bulletin

The second printed issue of the Peace Pledge Union Non-violence Commission's bulletin appears this month.

With more and more people beginning to think about defence without armaments, this little publication has an importance far beyond its size.

Secretary's other job

THE REV. A. W. BLAXALL, of the South African Fellowship of Reconciliation and one of the sponsors of the Defence Fund, has another full-time job on his hands; as Secretary-Treasurer of the Christian Council of South Africa he must keep a close watch on a number of Bills before the South African Parliament which would bring apartheid into Church worship.

Academy's new member

BENJAMIN BRITTEN, British composer and a sponsor of the Peace Pledge Union, has been elected an honorary member of the American Academy and the National Institution of Arts and Letters. Nehru, Schweitzer, Sibelius and Arnold Toynbee are among the foreign honorary membership which is limited to 50.

THE EDITOR

OPEN CRITICISM OF ADENAUER POLICIES

A "GROTESQUE SITUATION" was posed when the West German Bundestag was given very few facts by the Government and only the choice of "yes" or "no" when voting on the Euratom and European market proposals, declared the pro-Government influential weekly Die Zeit recently.

Peace News correspondent, Hans-Konrad Tempel, reports from Hamburg that Die Zeit declared that even the members of the Bundestag's Commission for Foreign Affairs were not given the final text of the treaty.

Unless the MPs had read the foreign Press, they would have been quite uninformed. "The role of the legislative played in this debate without any exact information available is quite unworthy," declared Die Zeit.

Tempel calls this open criticism "a sign of hope which might help clean the political atmosphere in the Federal Republic," but warns that the Editor of Die Zeit, Dr. Bucerius, MP, may yet share the fate of Paul Sethe, former Co-Editor of Frankfurter Allgemeine.

Sethe, a well-known military expert and opponent of Adenauer's policies, was forced, under Government pressure, to leave his post on Frankfurter Allgemeine because of his strong criticisms of Government policies.

He is now on the staff of the well-informed Die Welt.

Dutch Church and COs

By Neik Verkruijsen

THE DUTCH REFORMED CHURCH recently officially appointed a "Committee for Spiritual Care of Conscientious Objectors." Two members of the Board of the Dutch Fellowship of Reconciliation, including its Secretary, are to be members. Largely due to the work and influence of the FoR the official Dutch Church is taking a greater interest in the questions of war and peace, and has recently issued some "Herderlijk Schrijven," pastoral letters, on "War and Peace" and the colonial issue (New Guinea), taking a more "radical" line than ever before.

A.G.M.

A children's village in Britain

by DEREK WALKER

SINCE its foundation in 1946, the name of Pestalozzi, the international children's village, has gone round the world as a symbol of hope. Now, the work which was begun in Switzerland by Walter Robert Corti, is going to be continued and extended in Britain—if the plans recently drawn up by the British Pestalozzi Children's Village Association can be put into effect.

The Association hope to build a second Children's Village on a site in the Chiltern Hills. About £130,000 is needed to launch the project, and this has to be found without diminishing the regular support given to the village in Switzerland. At present, the Association maintains two British houses in Pestalozzi.

The British village will be organised on the same lines as Pestalozzi, with a number of houses—probably four to begin with—each containing 15 or 16 children and a housefather and housemother of the same nationality. The children of each nationality will be educated according to the school curriculum of their own country, and every house-father will be a fully qualified and experienced teacher.

JOY OF CREATIVE WORK

In the afternoons, all the children will join together for international classes in activities like art, drama and music. Each house will have workshops attached, so that instruction can be given in carpentry, metal-work, leather-work, pottery and weaving. The aim will be, not only to give every child a good education, but also to equip it with a trade.

The children will also be encouraged to assist with the running of the village, helping with the housework, gardening and looking after the domestic animals. In all their training they will be helped to discover the joy of creative work, in the hope that, when they grow up, their contribution to the world may be peaceful and constructive.

The first "citizens" of Pestalozzi were war orphans from European countries, and from Britain. Already some of them have grown up and returned to their own countries. They are being replaced by some of the "new" children.

going to be established in Britain, for British support for the Pestalozzi project has been strong right from the beginning. When the Swiss village was being built, in 1946, the largest contingent of voluntary workers came from this country. Now the British Pestalozzi Association maintains two houses in the village, "Thames House" and "Stepping Stones." It is only because the Association has been so successful in raising funds for these houses that it is now able to go ahead with plans for a second village over here.

SUPPORT OF PACIFISTS

In his preface to the book, THE CHILDREN'S VILLAGE, Walter Corti tells of his dream that, one day, a chain of international children's villages may encircle the world. "And where," he asks, "can there be a more benign soil for such a branching out of the ideas for which the Pestalozzi Children's Village stands than in Britain, for there live the people who have perhaps travelled farthest on the road towards a society of ordered freedom, ruled by tolerance."

A scheme which will enable at least a few of the world's children to grow up in friendship and understanding with peoples of other countries surely deserves the support of pacifists everywhere. The list of patrons of the British Pestalozzi Association includes two names well known in pacifist circles: Benjamin Britten and Dame Sybil Thorndike. When the second Children's Village begins to rise in the Chiltern Hills, one more symbol of peace and hope will have been given to all the world's children.

Grant for German WRI

By GENE SHARP

THE City Council of Solingen, Germany, recently voted to provide the local War Resisters' International group with a room in the town hall or, alternatively, to give it 100DM (£7 10s.) monthly to rent a room. The room would be used for consultation with young men about war resistance and legal provisions for conscientious objection.

The motion, passed by 23 to 22 votes, was supported by the Social Democratic Party and opposed by the Christian Union.

April 26, 1957—PEACE NEWS—5

PACIFIST CANDIDATES PUT THEIR CASE

8 p.m. Saturday May 4
KINGSWAY HALL

ALBERT LEAPER (Hull) RONALD MALLONE
(Woolwich) ROBERT TRAFFORD (Peterborough)
JOHN LOVERSEED (Chairman, FEL OWSHIP PARTY)

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Euston Road, Tuesday April 30 7.30 p.m.

Speakers:

FRANK BESWICK MP
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DONALD SOPER
REGINALD REYNOLDS
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Chairman: COL. GEOFFREY TAYLOR

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War is ruled out; spread the rule of peace by distributing more PEACE NEWS.

THE DUTCH REFORMED CHURCH
recently officially appointed a "Committee for Spiritual Care of Conscientious Objectors." Two members of the Board of the Dutch Fellowship of Reconciliation, including its Secretary, are to be members. Largely due to the work and influence of the FoR the official Dutch Church is taking a greater interest in the questions of war and peace, and has recently issued some "Herderlijk Schrijven," pastoral letters, on "War and Peace" and the colonial issue (New Guinea), taking a more "radical" line than ever before.

A.G.M.

WE are looking forward to a good Annual General Meeting in Leeds, where, for the first time in Peace Pledge Union history we are to have a civic welcome from the Lord Mayor. We are grateful for this recognition of the fact that the discussions will deal



not only with the family housekeeping, but also with our future activities, which are rightly the concern of the city in which we meet and the nation to which we belong.

This gathering marks an important stage, for our next AGM will be the twenty-first. Special plans are already in being to ensure a record attendance then, and all Groups are asked to take an active part in a nation-wide campaign during the next twelve months. The campaign has a dual purpose: to win fresh adherents to the pledge and to advocate unilateral disarmament, which is the logical extension to the nation of our individual pledge, and the political consequence of winning a sufficient number of people to pacifism. With Kathleen Lonsdale's Penguin Special and the Standing Joint Pacifist Committee's Report on Unilateral Disarmament to help, we hope the campaign will be given a really encouraging start by the AGM.

If you are not able to get to Leeds, will you add your own measure of encouragement by sending a special donation to the Peace Pledge Union Headquarters Fund?

STUART MORRIS,
General Secretary.

Our aim for the year: £1,150.
Amount received to date: £162.

Donations to the Peace Pledge Union, which are used for the work of the PPU, should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund," to the PPU Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.

work, leather work, pottery and weaving. The aim will be, not only to give every child a good education, but also to equip it with a trade.

The children will also be encouraged to assist with the running of the village, helping with the housework, gardening and looking after the domestic animals. In all their training they will be helped to discover the joy of creative work, in the hope that, when they grow up, their contribution to the world may be peaceful and constructive.

The first "citizens" of Pestalozzi were war orphans from European countries, and from Britain. Already some of them have grown up and returned to their own countries. They are being replaced by some of the "social" orphans who are all too numerous today. It is intended that the orphans who come to the Children's Village in Britain will be drawn not only from European countries, but also from the Commonwealth and perhaps from other places as well.

It is no surprise that the second village is

A FAITH FOR TODAY

By Christopher Moore

A GROUP of twenty-seven boys of conscription age met at Leighton Park School, Reading, recently for a conference organised by the Friends' Peace Committee.

The conference began with three talks entitled "Christian Pacifism—a Faith for Today," "To Fight or Not To Fight?" and "Problems facing the Conscientious Objector."

In the first two talks were presented the two alternatives—a self-destructive arms race or peaceful co-existence. John Kay pointed out that pacifism is a whole way of life which must be followed at all times if it is to be successful. There is evidence in the social reforms in this country that the pacifist spirit can obtain the best results. It now remains for dedicated individuals to apply it once more.

The third talk dealt with the more immediate needs of the CO. It outlined the various courses of action a CO could take and the special problems arising from each of these.

From the talks emerged a number of points which were later thrashed out in four discussion groups: The pacifist attitude to an occupying Power, the pacifism of Jesus and the non-pacifism of the Church as a whole today, obligations to the State, and the principles guiding the choice between alternative service and unconditional exemption.

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Grant for German WRI

By GENE SHARP

THE City Council of Solingen, Germany, recently voted to provide the local War Resisters' International group with a room in the town hall or, alternatively, to give it 100DM (£7 10s.) monthly to rent a room. The room would be used for consultation with young men about war resistance and legal provisions for conscientious objection.

The motion, passed by 23 to 22 votes, was supported by the Social Democratic Party and opposed by the parties supporting the coalition Bonn Government. There are WRI members on the City Council. The WRI Chairman in the city had applied for a counselling room in the town hall.

Theodore Michaltscheff, General Secretary of the German WRI, told me in Hamburg recently that this represented "the first time we have got an official grant for this purpose."

Pacifists "in very many towns" are members of the commissions for exempting conscientious objectors and in several towns WRI groups are using trade union rooms and quarters in city-owned buildings for counselling centres.

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Not evasive

I AM sorry that you should think me "shamelessly evasive." I had perhaps indulged myself in believing that on the H-bomb issue I had made my position unequivocal. You ask that those who hold that Britain should renounce the programme stand up and be counted; you ask me to do so.

I have done so countless times: I believe the H-bomb proposition is monstrous, dangerous, and immoral. I readily say so again. In this I might by some standards be wrong, but I am not evasive.—JAMES CAMERON, News Chronicle, 12-22 Bouverie St., London, E.C.4.

[We greatly welcome this letter; in view of the information it contains, however, we hold that Mr. Cameron was doing himself an injustice in ranking himself with "the gutless men."—ED.]

The age of gutless men

I WAS sorry to read your editorial attacking Mr. James Cameron.

When he wrote "This is the age of gutless men, myself included," I am sure "myself included" was added in all humility.

Readers of the News Chronicle know that Mr. Cameron is not a gutless man and it was

unnecessary and unkind of you to read his words as a "grovelling confession."

Week after week as a journalist, and at public meetings and over the radio, he reports on the difficult world situations bravely and honestly. He is after all a reporter and not a Peace News essayist.

I do not think Dr. Soper minded being coupled with General MacArthur on this occasion. Would there were more such opportunities of bracketing them together!

Many times lately I have felt an unhappiness like despair creeping into Mr. Cameron's articles. But surely we all feel this at times. I am sure Dr. Soper does.

It is not for us to challenge Mr. Cameron, but rather to try and meet his challenge and thus to help lift his despair.—ALICE ELLIOT, 17 Chatham Close, Sutton, Surrey.

I HAVE been reading your article on Cameron and I liked it very much. At first I thought you were being a bit hard on him, but later I saw what you were getting at. I think it's a good thing to try and get these men to commit themselves and I wish all power to your pen. There is too much milk and water stuff in journalism

today and it's very agreeable to come across the real thing occasionally.—J. BUDGE, Exeter, Devon.

Three great men

YOU report that Dr. Homer Jack told a recent Peace News meeting in London that he had "tried to extract the insights" that three men had revealed to him, Gandhi, Schweitzer and Einstein, whom he believed "will be remembered after most else has been forgotten." What a pity he didn't add Tolstoy as a fourth. Gandhi and Einstein both publicly declared their great debt to Tolstoy, and Schweitzer has called him "a great stimulator." Surely THE KINGDOM OF GOD IS WITHIN YOU is one of the finest pleas for peace we have, and I feel that in the present state of tension between the East and West we should not omit to mention the debt we owe to this very great Russian. CRICHTON PORTEOUS, The Cottage, Two Dales, Matlock, Derby.

[We regret that our brief report did not make it clear that Dr. Jack was referring to three men with whom he had been intimately acquainted.—ED.]

More letters on back page

chapter, "comes at last to reveal with classic simplicity the contrast between Tory dreams and reality. The capture of Port Said imposed a big enough stress on our military machine and our economic system. The reconquest of Egypt—or any large-scale new commitment such as certainly would have been involved in controlling the canal zone—could have meant economic ruin."

And, in contrast, the authors quote Aneurin Bevan, who said:

"What we have to seek are new ways of being great, new modes of pioneering, new fashions of thought, new means of inspiring and igniting the minds of mankind. We can do so."

A deserter from Hitler's army

SCOTT BAYLISS reviews

The Legion Of The Damned, by Sven Hassel (Allen & Unwin, 15s.).

THIS is the story of a deserter from

Letters to the Editor

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(if free)

Dr. BERTRAND ALLINSON

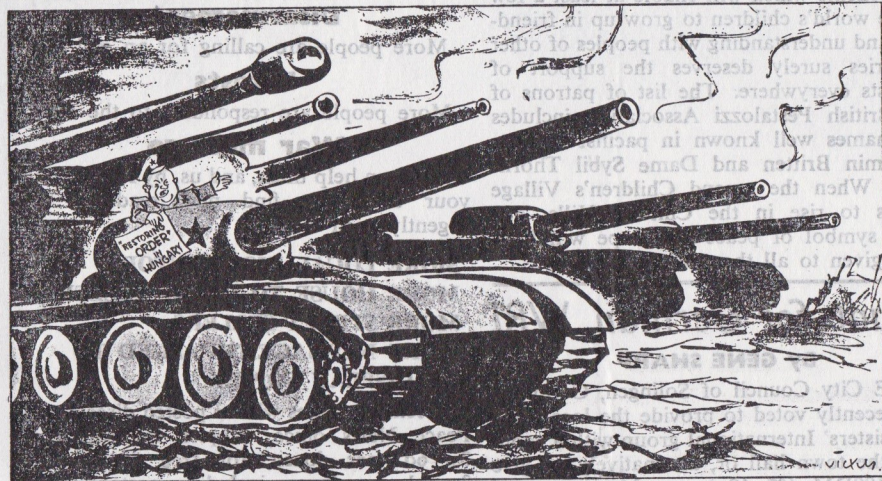
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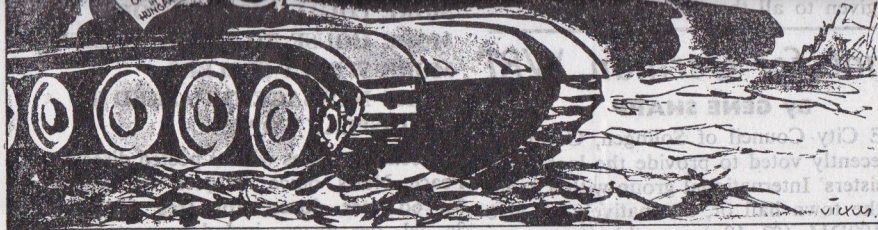
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"So what! I'm a policeman too!"

Democracy in action

THE BRITISH PEOPLE



"So what! I'm a policeman too!"

Democracy in action

THE BRITISH PEOPLE AND THE SUEZ WAR

Frank Allam reviews

Guilty Men, 1957, by Michael Foot and Mervyn Jones (Gollancz, 12s. 6d.).

A CHEER went up from the Tory benches at Westminster—the first we'd heard for a long time. It was to greet the Colonial Secretary, Lennox-Boyd, as he took his seat.

Had he ended the Cyprus horror? On the contrary he had just kidnapped Archbishop Makarios, with all the blood and tears that were to ensue.

When, a year later, the Archbishop was freed there was not a single cheer from the Government benches. But the arrest was what the Government supporters call "strong action." It delighted those who are making the running, the wild men who clamour amid acclamation at Party conferences for "more guts." It satisfied their jingoistic, militaristic, feelings.

A few months later even "stronger action" was taken, culminating in the bombing of Egypt and that terrible day, November 6, when World War III was all but reached.

Those who were responsible for the war in Egypt—and particularly their leaders—are the **GUILTY MEN**, 1957, whose conspiracies are recounted in great and damning detail in the book of that title written by Michael Foot and Mervyn Jones (with cartoons by the incomparable Vicky).

Unlike **GUILTY MEN**, the brief pamphlet Michael Foot helped to write back in 1940, this new Gollancz yellow-back contains 264 closely printed pages with a mass of carefully checked facts.

It tells the whole bloody story of the repression in Cyprus, Algeria and Egypt. The three theatres of war are all linked. The Suez war is no minor incident. It will be a black chapter in history books for generations to come. It was, in my view, even more heinous than Munich. For it was nothing less than a premeditated invasion of another country disguised by a dozen palpable lies. Surely there is no worse

crime? This book is worthy of its subject.

The authors drive home the point that those in Macmillan's Cabinet backed the action in Suez and have not repudiated it since.

The chapter that moved me most is headed "Democracy in Action." It describes the mighty reaction of the British people, without doubt one of the major factors in stopping the war.

I am not one of those who say that Labour has never made a mistake. But I must admit I never felt prouder of Labour than at that time. The whole movement was united. Thirty thousand people gathered in Trafalgar Square on Sunday, November 4, for the great "Law Not War" meeting. Thousands marched down Whitehall. In towns and villages throughout the country the anti-war message was carried. Inside Parliament there were unprecedented scenes. The Speaker had to suspend the sitting.

Labour showed itself in this major crisis as the Peace Party. When a mass party does the right thing on such a major issue as this it justifies some tolerance if it sometimes errs on lesser occasions. The affair also shows that in our age a British Government can't successfully taken the country to war against the will of the people.

"The Suez folly" states the concluding

Aneurin Bevan, who said:
"What we have to seek are new ways of being great, new modes of pioneering, new fashions of thought, new means of inspiring and igniting the minds of mankind. We can do, so."

A deserter from Hitler's army

SCOTT BAYLISS reviews

The Legion Of The Damned, by Sven Hassel (Allen & Unwin, 15s.).

THIS is the story of a deserter from Hitler's army and his ghastly sufferings, first in a concentration camp and then in a penal regiment on the Russian front; and although the former occupy less than one-tenth of the book, they are the more ghastly, for they are sufferings even more vilely and wantonly inflicted than those of war, and with no object but to torture the helpless victims. Decidedly no one with a too vivid imagination should read this book, but it should be compulsory for every MP and for all above the rank of Private in any army.

Yet it is not all horror. There is humour, and moments of poignant beauty, such as when Porta, humorist and Communist, plays Bach on the church organ at Pinsk and is kissed by the Russian priest.

Authentic? Everything points to authenticity, and the author certainly knows how to write—not even the poor translation can hide that.

PPU CONFERENCE

by Margaretel Brooks

"RENOUNCE war all along and not just when a crisis breaks," was the advice of Stuart Morris, General Secretary of the Peace Pledge Union, urging pacifists to be in advance of the situation and in a position to warn people of the consequences of the policies they were pursuing.

He was speaking at a Conference Week-end arranged by the Western Area Council of the PPU and held at Weston-super-Mare.

The position in the Middle East was crying out for a real act of repentance. The building of the Aswan Dam and a decision to raise the whole living standards of the people of that region were vitally necessary, together with the withdrawal of all military forces, the winding-up of the Bagdad Pact and an end to the supplying of arms.

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THURSDAY, MAY 9

Speakers:
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(if free)
Dr. BERTRAND ALLINSON
Mr. C. R. HOBSON, MP
Miss L. LIND-af-HAGEBY

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1. Send notices to arrive not later than Mon. m.
2. Include: Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address).

Friday, April 26

LEEDS: 7.30 p.m.; Trinity Congregational Church Hall, Woodhouse Lane. Friends of Peace News in the North of England and those attending the Annual General Meeting of the Peace Pledge Union are invited to meet members of the Peace News Staff and Board. Peace News.

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m.; North Room, Conway Hall. John Lovedseed, Ronald Mallone, Fellowship Party; Sidney Parker, Bridge London Circle; Terence Chivers, PYAG. "Peace and Politics." Discussion.

Saturday-Sunday, April 27-28

LEEDS: Peace Pledge Union A.G.M. See advertisement page.

Tuesday, April 30

ALTON: 7.30 p.m.; "Hillcrest," Windmill Hill. Gp. Mtg. Report on AGM and discussion, "Why I am a pacifist." Alton Gp. Peace Pledge Union.

LONDON, N.W.1: 7.30 p.m.; Friends Ho., Euston Rd. "H-bombs and Humanity." Speakers, Frank Beswick, MP, Barbara Castle, MP, Reginald Reynolds, Dr. Donald Soper, Wayland Young and an Eminent Atomic Scientist. Chair, Col. Geoffrey Taylor. 600 unreserved seats. Nat. Council for Abolition Nuclear Weapon Tests.

Wednesday, May 1

HASTINGS: 7 p.m.; 78a Norman Rd., St. Leonards. Rev. A. G. Webb, "Pacifism—its place in the Christian life." Monthly Meeting. PPU.

Wednesday, May 1

SOUTHEND-ON-SEA: 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., 18 Dundonald Drive, Stuart Morris, Gen. Sec. PPU. "What is Pacifism?" PPU.

Thursday, May 2

BIRMINGHAM: 7.15 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Bull Street. Rev. W. W. Simpson, Gen. Sec. Council of Christians and Jews. "Some Personal Impressions." AGM, Birmingham Peace Council.

CAMBRIDGE: 8.30 p.m.; The Union Debating Chamber. Dr. Donald Soper, Public Meeting. For.

CROYDON: 8 p.m.; Purley Congregational Church Hall, Brighton Rd. Film, "Children of Hiroshima." Fellowship of Reconciliation.

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho. Ralph Watson, "Is War Insane?" PPU.

Friday, May 3

BRISTOL: 7.30 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., 300 Gloucester Rd. Swami Avyaktananda of the Vedanta Movement, Bath. "Faiths and Fellowship." All welcome, adm. free. Fellowship of the Friends of Truth.

CROYDON: 8 p.m.; West Croydon Methodist Church Hall, London Rd. Film, "Children of Hiroshima." Fellowship of Reconciliation.

LONDON, N.13: 8 p.m.; Bowes Pk. Methodist Church. Hugh Brock, Editor of "Peace News." Adventures in Journalism. MPF.

Saturday, May 4

LONDON, W.C.1: 2 p.m.; Kingsway Hall. Second Anl. Conference of Fellowship Party. Fraternal delegates from Dutch Socialist Pacifist Party, Common Wealth and Christian Party. 5.30-7.45 p.m.; Pacifist Policy Discussion, Chairman, John Lovedseed, 8-9 p.m.; Pacifist Parliamentary Candidates state their case. John Lovedseed, Albert Leaper, Ronald Mallone, Robert Trafford. Fellowship Party.

MANCHESTER: 2.30 p.m.; "Stop H-bomb Tests" Poster Parade. Start Friends Mtg. Ho., Mount St., Manchester. Details from Lionel Cowan, 59 Cecil Rd., Hale, Altrincham, Cheshire. United Peace Fellowship.

REV. MICHAEL SCOTT'S MEMORANDUM

South Africa faces the conscience of the world

DR. KWAME NKRUMAH, Prime Minister of Ghana, has appointed a Committee to study the proposals presented in a memorandum on South Africa submitted to him by the Rev. Michael Scott during his recent visit to Ghana as a guest for the celebrations of Ghana's independence.

In the memorandum, Michael Scott declares that "The fact must now be faced by the international community that South Africa has for ten years defied all the resolutions of the General Assembly relating to the question of Apartheid, the Treatment of People of Asian Origin in South Africa and the supervisory authority of the United Nations over the Mandated Territory of South-West Africa.

"So far from making any concessions to world opinion, South Africa has steadily continued her defiance by enacting increasingly repressive apartheid legislation and measures for the absorption of South-West Africa into the Union," he declared.

PLAN OF ACTION

This has resulted, he continued, in extending the challenge of South Africa to the "outside world" from "the sphere of international law and politics to the sphere of religion, education and medicine. This must be reckoned with by all organisations which have the integrity of the Commonwealth and the United Nations at heart."

It is therefore necessary, continued the memorandum, that a plan of action be devised "which will achieve what moral persuasion and ten years of debates and attempted conciliation in the United Nations have failed to achieve."

The initiative for the needed vigorous leadership on this issue at the UN "should come from other African States.

"It should be made quite clear to South Africa that henceforth other African countries will not content themselves with passing resolutions and making speeches in the United Nations deploring the injustices which are being increasingly inflicted on the African people in the Union.

"Action will be taken, both individually and jointly, which will adversely affect

policy in the form of boycotts, strikes and other measures forced upon them by their lack of any constitutional means of redress, representation in Parliament and the repression of their leaders and their political and trade union organisations."

He declared that the dangers resulting from "this total stoppage of all channels of peaceful change and remedy for injustice" to not only South Africa but also surrounding territories, are now "too great to be evaded any longer by pious resolutions and oratory.

"The time has come for other African countries to take carefully planned and co-ordinated action both outside the United Nations and within the United Nations to induce other like-minded countries to join them in more effectual measures. Such will help to convince the South African Government of the error of its ways and assist the people opposing it.

"It will demonstrate the unwillingness of the world to wait complacently for some inevitable disaster or explosion which would cause unlimited human suffering and leave Africa with a heritage of racial hatred which would take centuries to overcome."

INTERNATIONAL COURT

Article 7 of the League of Nations mandate agreement with South Africa could be invoked, the memorandum continued, to resolve "any dispute between South Africa as the Mandatory and one or more of the members of the League which entrusted the Mandate to her. The compulsory jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice could be sought by one or more members and South Africa would be compelled to accept the judgment of the Court even if she absented herself and took no part in the Court's proceedings. Continued defiance by South Africa of the Court could be referred to the Security Council and could result in the invoking of any of the active steps open

April 26, 1957—PEACE NEWS—7

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SITUATIONS VACANT

NATIONAL PEACE COUNCIL urgently requires

Gloucester Rd., Swami Avyaktananda of the Vantana Movement, Bath. "Faiths and Fellowship." All welcome, adm. free. Fellowship of the Friends of Truth.

CROYDON: 8 p.m.; West Croydon Methodist Church Hall, London Rd. Film, "Children of Hiroshima." Fellowship of Reconciliation.

LONDON, N.13: 8 p.m.; Bowes Pk. Methodist Church. Hugh Brock, Editor of "Peace News." Adventures in Journalism. MPF.

Saturday, May 4

LONDON, W.C.1: 2 p.m.; Kingsway Hall. Second Anl. Conference of Fellowship Party. Fraternal delegates from Dutch Socialist Pacifist Party, Common Wealth and Christian Party. 5.30-7.45 p.m.; Pacifist Policy Discussion, Chairman, John Loverseed, 8-9 p.m.; Pacifist Parliamentary Candidates state their case. John Loverseed, Albert Leaper, Ronald Mallone, Robert Trafford. Fellowship Party.

MANCHESTER: 2.30 p.m.; "Stop H-bomb Tests" Poster Parade. Start Friends Mtg. Ho., Mount St., Manchester. Details from Lionel Cowan, 59 Cecil Rd., Hale, Altrincham, Cheshire. United Peace Fellowship.

Monday, May 6

CROYDON: 8 p.m.; Thornton Heath Congregational Church Hall, Bensham Manor Rd. Film, "Children of Hiroshima." FoR.

EAST GRINSTEAD: 8 p.m.; Oak Room, Whitehall. "Any Questions" with Hilda Von Klenze, Stuart Morris, Philip Millwood. Question-master Rev. G. Cockett. PPU, FoR, SoF.

MANCHESTER: 7.30 p.m.; Public Mtg. on "Stop H-bomb Tests." Friends Mtg. Ho., Mount St., Manchester. Details as for May 4 Poster Parade. United Peace Fellowship.

Thursday, May 23

BERMONDSEY: 7.30 p.m.; Libraries Hall. Sybil Morrison, speakers from the Independent Labour Party and Movement for Colonial Freedom. "Any Questions." Chairman, Bob Streetley. PPU.

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DICK SHEPPARD HOUSE

6, Endsleigh Street

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"... Nations have failed to achieve."

The initiative for the needed vigorous
leadership on this issue at the UN "should
come from other African States.

"It should be made quite clear to
South Africa that henceforth other
African countries will not content them-
selves with passing resolutions and making
speeches in the United Nations deploring
the injustices which are being increasingly
inflicted on the African people in the
Union.

"Action will be taken, both individually
and jointly, which will adversely affect
South African trading and other relations
with their territories in Africa. This could
include commercial exchange as well as
communications, including air travel, serv-
icing of aircraft proceeding to and from
South Africa, etc."

BOYCOTT URGED

Michael Scott urged "strong representa-
tions" by States with vital interests in Africa
and the Commonwealth "regarding the con-
tinued financing of South African gold and
diamond mining enterprises whose migrant
labour system is disrupting the social organi-
sation of the African people as far away
as Nyasaland, Tanganyika, Bechuanaland,
Basutoland and Swaziland, despite the cash
wages offered which... depreciate the
standards of wages and labour conditions in
the Union itself."

Denouncing the karakul sheep farming of
South-West Africa as exploitative, cruel and
a mis-use of labour, he urged "women with
consciences" to boycott the lambs' skins,
and declared that "West Africa could set an
example by boycotting South African food-
stuffs, eggs, tinned fruit, wine, and other
products..."

"In the social sphere, in music, enter-
tainment, the arts, athletics, sport and edu-
cation, much could be done to exert a
healthy pressure of world opinion on the
South African public," which, he insisted,
included much more than the section of the
white people which supports the Govern-
ment's policies.

"... nine-tenths of the population...
is showing itself increasingly opposed to this

Dr. Martin Niemoller was among the Ger-
man churchmen who thanked the 18
scientists "for the service which you have
done to the German people with your
warning" about atomic weapons.

Article 7 of the League of Nations man-
date agreement with South Africa could be
invoked, the memorandum continued, to
resolve "any dispute between South Africa
as the Mandatory and one or more of the
members of the League which entrusted the
Mandate to her. The compulsory jurisdiction
of the International Court of Justice could
be sought by one or more members and
South Africa would be compelled to accept
the judgment of the Court even if she
absented herself and took no part in the
Court's proceedings. Continued defiance by
South Africa of the Court could be referred
to the Security Council and could result in
the invoking of any of the active steps open
to the United Nations including the 'collec-
tive measures' usually referred to as
sanctions."

Michael Scott then urged consideration of
issuing travel documents by the UN or "a
friendly State" to recognised petitioners
from South-West Africa whom the [UN's]
Fourth Committee has expressed its readiness
to hear" but whom the South African
Government has refused to grant permis-
sion to leave.

AFRICAN CONFERENCE

Finally, the memorandum proposed that
the Conference of African Sovereign States
suggested by Dr. Nkrumah consider in
addition to other matters "possible policies
and lines of concerted action to deal with
the problem of South Africa, also the part
which non-governmental organisations
could play in the various fields of education,
sport, culture, trade, etc., in the form of
both negative and positive action."

South Africa could be invited to attend
such a conference "and discuss her present
and future relations with other States of the
African continent," and "made aware of the
likely consequences of the continued pursuit
of her present policies of repression."

UN CHARTER ENFORCED

Positively, the conference could explore
all the possible ways in which Africa could
be helped by the UN's specialised agencies.

The memorandum concluded:

"The purpose of the courses of action
outlined above is to reinforce the principles
of the United Nations Charter in face of
South Africa's defiance and not to counter-
pose one form of racialism for another.

"Procedures must be devised which will
make the Charter principles and the rule of
international law effectual, or confidence in
peaceful methods may be undermined in
that part of the continent and peace and
security threatened."

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LETTER FROM WESTMINSTER Nigeria to call for independence

By FENNER BROCKWAY M.P.

ON May 23 representatives of Nigeria will meet in London to demand the independence of their country and people by 1959. This is a tremendously significant event.

It is significant for many reasons. In the first place, Nigeria is the largest British colony. It has over 30 million people. They actually number more than one-third of the non-self-governing population which remains in the British Empire.

Secondly, the independence of Nigeria will have a profound effect on the future of the whole continent of Africa; profounder even than the effect of Ghana's independence. This is not only because of its size, but because Nigeria has an intimate influence upon all "Black Africa," especially the peoples in the vast territories of French Equatorial Africa and the Belgian Congo. Their advance will be greatly speeded by Nigeria's achievement.

Thirdly, Nigeria's independence will give a notable example of the readiness of African people to unite for national independence, despite deep religious, tribal and social differences. This point is worth emphasising.

Nigeria is now divided into three Regions—two in the South, known as East and West, and the North. The North is Moslem, still largely under the influence of Emirs, who are in effect social, political, spiritual, economic and cultural overlords.

IMPORTANT DECISIONS

In the distant rural areas there has been little experience of democracy, although where district councils have been established they have often shown an encouraging ability to manage their local affairs.

There has been a tendency in the North to be fearful of the South, whose peoples are more advanced in the practices of the modern world.

and has gained considerable influence in the urban centres. The face of the North is now turned towards political freedom.

Differences will still have to be faced in the London talks. The basic point of the degree of democracy must be settled. The East has had adult suffrage; the West has had a limited suffrage; the North has had a mixed system of direct and indirect elections.

The East would like adult suffrage in all three Regions, and the West has now agreed. But the Emirs of the North are still nervous.

VARYING LOYALTIES

Clearly, Nigeria's independence can only be founded on true democracy when every man and woman in all three Regions enjoys the full rights of citizenship. It would be a happy conclusion to the London Conference if the North would agree to this. But it is possible that for a time the independent Federation of Nigeria may accept, for the sake of unity, different systems of franchise in North and South.

There are also differences which result from varying loyalties to tribe and nation. Dr. Azikiwe in the East places the nation before the tribe and would desire the maximum of national authority in the new State.

Dr. Awolowo in the West emphasises loyalty to tribe and would retain considerable Regional autonomy. It may be that new Regions will be established, reflecting natural affinities; but in East, West and North there is now recognition that the central Federation must be strong enough to speak for Nigeria as a whole.

Those who believe in freedom in all parts of the world—in Britain, in Asia, in other parts of Africa, everywhere—will wish the Nigerian representatives, as they leave for London, the happiest conclusion to the Conference. We shall look forward to saluting Independent Nigeria in 1959!

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TIT-FOR-TAT

The Opposition has a clear and definite policy: to go to the other two nuclear Powers, and the rest of the world, and say simply: We will stop it if you will stop it.

—Mr. Strachey, House of Commons, April 17, 1957.

THE Easter Sunday sunshine brought many Londoners out into the parks and commons and, as I leaned over the Embankment wall near to where I live, I saw many children playing on the muddy shores revealed by the ebbing tide.

Two small boys had started a splashing contest and, as the water was very far from clean, the effect upon the pale yellow shirt of one of the boys was apparent enough to cause him some alarm.

Instead of calling for a truce to the game, he splashed a particularly large blob of mud at the dark blue shirt of his playmate, shouting: "Stop it, stop it now."

"I'll stop it if you do," blue shirt yelled, lobbing yet another ferocious scoop of filthy water.

I turned away, set upon looking up my newspaper cuttings for those very words, which had been ringing in my mind ever since I had read them, and which now found an echo on the shores of the Chelsea Reach.

The analogy was horribly clear; plainly neither little boy was going to be the first to stop, yet he expected the other to do what he would not do himself.

It is not to be supposed that small boys, aged seven or eight, should have the wisdom, common sense, nor for that matter the understanding of moral standards, which might be expected from the teaching and experience of years.

The undisciplined egotism of childhood, if unguided and uncontrolled, can easily become the angry tyranny of dictatorship and power politics.

It is sinister, therefore, to recognise in the utterances of political leaders the uncomprehending futility of childish destructiveness.

No ordinary, normal, parent would teach a

the Government are confident that it is right to have the same kind of weapons as a possible enemy, and also the same kind of weapons as an ally, just in case the ally should, because of his extra strength, want to call the tune.

Both these points of view can be argued on grounds of expediency or logic, but neither can be argued on grounds of morality. And it is this that is missing in the whole of the debate on the Defence White Paper.

★ The call for cessation by the Labour Opposition is not made upon moral grounds, but upon the risks and the dangers. Yet, the fact that this country has been manufacturing the H-bomb has been known for years, and the argument for the deterrent has been made by both sides.

Keeping up with the other Great Powers is not peculiar only to the Tory Party, it is part of the power politics game, part of the immoral expediency of war.

The Labour Party might have given a great lead, a lead that would have brought them back to office, if they had had the moral courage to say, not like naughty little boys: "We will stop it if you will stop it," but "We will stop it because it is wrong."

It is the belief in war that has brought us to this pass; it is not only the weapons, but the method itself, that must be stopped.

Stop tests FROM PAGE THREE

A mere child knows how it is impolite to throw rubbish in another man's yard. If the worst comes to the worst, the experiment may result in the total destruction of mankind.

What will become of us, if such experiments are carried on one after another?

The whole nation of our country are against the execrable atomic experiments and are firmly determined to arouse your public conscience to the evils of the attempt.

still largely under the influence of Emirs, who are in effect social, political, spiritual, economic and cultural overlords.

IMPORTANT DECISIONS

In the distant rural areas there has been little experience of democracy, although where district councils have been established they have often shown an encouraging ability to manage their local affairs.

There has been a tendency in the North to be fearful of the South, whose peoples are more advanced in the practices of the modern world.

Three years ago, when Nigerian representatives last met in London to consider Constitutional changes, there was a serious cleavage between North and South. The Southern representatives wanted early self-government. The representatives of the North wanted delay.

The South then had to make an important decision. Should their people postpone their own independence for the sake of the unity of the whole of Nigeria, or should they press their claims, leaving the North to follow in course of time? The latter decision would have meant a serious danger of a split.

With great statesmanship the South decided to forego their own hopes for the sake of Nigerian unity. They accepted, instead of independence, a qualified internal self-government for their two areas—East and West—hoping that by their example and by their continued association they would influence the North towards the acceptance of independence. Experience has now proved how wise and far-seeing this decision was.

CAMPAIGN FOR DEMOCRACY

Last week the Prime Ministers of the three Regions of Nigeria, Dr. Azikiwe, of the East; Chief Awolowo, of the West; and Alhaji Ahmadu, of the North, unanimously called for independence for the whole of Nigeria by 1959. This is a great historic decision. If they maintain this unity in London they will win their demand.

Great progress has been made in the North during the three years. Direct elections have been introduced in the towns. An energetic and vital Party, with the somewhat cumbersome name, "The Northern Elements Progressive Union," has carried on a great educational campaign for democracy

loyalty to tribe and would retain considerable Regional autonomy. It may be that new Regions will be established, reflecting natural affinities; but in East, West and North there is now recognition that the central Federation must be strong enough to speak for Nigeria as a whole.

Those who believe in freedom in all parts of the world—in Britain, in Asia, in other parts of Africa, everywhere—will wish the Nigerian representatives, as they leave for London, the happiest conclusion to the Conference. We shall look forward to saluting Independent Nigeria in 1959!

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H-protest men

dangering the lives of her people by means of nuclear experiments, and to take advantage of every opportunity to promote understanding between the nations."

In Harlow New Town (Essex), a campaign is being organised by "Harlow Citizens Against War."

"A few of us have already succeeded in collecting over 1,200 signatures of protest against the tests," Jenny Rudd, of 114 Collins Meadow, told Peace News on Tuesday.

"We would welcome individuals to a Campaign Committee Meeting on May 1, in the Moot House, at 8 p.m.," she added. "We want to link up with similar activities elsewhere."

In Birmingham all Christians in the city have been invited to co-operate in opposing the tests, Wilfred A. Beswick, of the Friends Peace Committee (Quakers), reports. Offers of help may be sent to him at 8 Dr. Johnson's Passage, Birmingham, 4.

Greenwich Trades Council have called for an immediate ban on the tests, while Marcus Lipton, MP, for Brixton has declared that "the Government should stop H-tests in the hope of getting America and Russia to do the same."

The Pilgrimage

THE Hungary and Egypt Pilgrimage will leave Edgware (tube station) at 11 a.m. on Saturday, April 27, and will walk to Marble Arch with as many supporters as can be encouraged to join in.

On Sunday, April 28 a meeting will be held in Trafalgar Sq., at 2.30 p.m., after which a delegation will deliver written protests at 10 Downing St., and the Soviet Embassy.

On Monday the Pilgrimage will set off for New Eltham and eventually Dover.

It is not to be supposed that small boys, aged seven or eight, should have the wisdom, common sense, nor for that matter the understanding of moral standards, which might be expected from the teaching and experience of years.

The undisciplined egotism of childhood, if unguided and uncontrolled, can easily become the angry tyranny of dictatorship and power politics.

It is sinister, therefore, to recognise in the utterances of political leaders the uncomprehending futility of childish destructiveness.

No ordinary, normal, parent would teach a child that it was perfectly proper to be dishonest so long as other children were also dishonest; to be cruel so long as others were cruel; to lie so long as others lied. On the contrary, the teaching would be that these things are wrong, and no matter what others do they are still wrong.

There is, obviously, no such consideration either by the Government or by the Opposition. If Labour were in office, we learn they would do what they believe to be right if the other Great Powers also agreed.

The difference seems to lie in the fact that

H-FLASHES

Vice-President of India, Dr. Radhakrishnan, has called upon "nuclear Powers" of the world to abandon further test explosions "unilaterally and unconditionally" without waiting for each other to do so first. He said that the future of humanity demanded a stoppage of all nuclear explosions and added: "If nuclear Powers wait for each other to give a lead the race will not end."

Mr. Dulles told Dr. Matsushita on Sunday that the US did not feel it could yet call off the nuclear tests.

Dr. Matsushita has said that it is unlikely that any single Power would give up its experiments unilaterally. He told reporters in New York that he acknowledged that it was politically impossible for the Western Powers to cease their experiments now. He was opposed to all tests at any time, anywhere.

Mr. Nehru, addressing the first session of the Asian legal consultative committee (Burma, Ceylon, India, Iraq, Indonesia and Japan are represented on it) asked the delegates to consider whether any nation had a right to poison the earth's atmosphere through test explosions.

but the method itself, as it must be stopped.

Stop tests

* FROM
PAGE THREE

A mere child knows how it is impolite to throw rubbish in another man's yard. If the worst comes to the worst, the experiment may result in the total destruction of mankind.

What will become of us, if such experiments are carried on one after another?

The whole nation of our country are against the execrable atomic experiments and are firmly determined to arouse your public conscience to the evils of the attempt.

Yours sincerely,

SHIZUKA YUHI.

IN spite of such a pleasant expectation for spring, we still have the dreadful, uneasy feelings, even an indignant feeling in our minds.

Even though ten years have passed since the Second World War ended, we can never forget the dreadful memory about the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki or sorrowful memory about the death ashes of radioactivity of Bikini in Marshall Islands.

We mothers in Japan . . . were surprised to hear that your country was going to do the British hydrogen bomb tests in Christmas Island area. So we cannot help asking for the immediate stop of tests to your governments.

And also we sincerely hope that you mothers in Britain will rise up in order to join this move against the H-bomb tests in Christmas Island.

Please consider, mothers of Britain, that our children and our grandchildren might be born imperfect by the awful affection of Strontium 90 in hydrogen bombs.

We believe that your co-operation with our move against the H-bomb tests will help to save the earth from the dreadful destruction, so that we are trying our best to oppose against the H-bomb tests in Christmas Island.

We must, I believe, ask for this opposition not only to your country, but also to the United States of America and Soviet Union, too.

Please, mothers in Britain, stand up in order to prevent the dreadful hydrogen bomb test in Christmas Island.

Expecting your profound understanding for our opposition against the experiment of H-bomb, we are

sincerely yours,

Masako Yoshimura.

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